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may cause the loop of skin to tear, henceforth preventing the wearing of ear ornaments since they are never used singly. Pąnhí, once taking over a huge burity log from another racer's shoulders while dashing past, suffered this misfortune. He did not notice anything before passing on the log, when the blood was dripping on his shoulder. I have never heard of the Canella healing the torn ear after the fashion of the Apinayé.[299]

The ordinary plugs are disks of some light (weight) wood, an inch in thickness and dyed red only on the edge. For a ceremony a thick layer of white clay is put on the face of the earplug, which is mostly decorated with black and red designs. There are ringlike plugs of thick bamboo and also wooden disks with round central holes that are sometimes sufficiently large to suggest rings; at times a corded tassel, dyed red, is inserted. The youth in plate 4, *a* has stuck a bit of tobacco twist into the orifice of his plug, not for magical purposes, but simply because the ceremonial costume precludes the use of a pouch for storage. In other plugs the holes have the form of a Greek or Maltese cross. Very rare are heavy plugs of hardened white clay with violet marble-like veins; I have seen them only from the Rąmkõ'kamekra, the material being apparently restricted to the Serra do Alpercatas in their territory. (Pl. 13, *a*.)

Among the Krĩkatí and Pụkóbye I have seen plugs with four little mother-of-pearl disks cemented into the anterior surface. The Rąmkõ'kamekra have such inserts of mirror glass, but only rarely.

From Pụkóbye I obtained a pair of paca incisors said to be insets for earplugs. I have never seen such in use among the Eastern Timbira, but observed them at Apinayé initiations. The ear rosettes of the Karayá also bear this ornamentation.[300]

Labrets; incisors.—Except for the Western Gaviões the lower lip is no longer perforated by any Eastern Timbira tribe. The Rąmkõ'kamekra told me that until not very long ago the Eastern Gaviões (Pụkóbye) also had perforated lips. In a mixed company of Krahõ' and Apą'nyekra Martius saw the older people wearing labrets in the form of shining cylinders of yellow rosin or alabaster; they were from 1½ to 3 inches in length and could be easily extracted.[301] Since Pohl, who in the same year saw numerous Krahõ', noted only ears perforated,[302] the labret wearers must have been Apą'nyekra, though their present descendants know nothing of such decoration. For the Põrekamekra Pohl explicitly denies perforation of the lip.[303]

Among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, Apą'nyekra, and Krahõ' the upper incisors of children of both sexes are very often tapped into pointed form with a knife and a little mallet. The practice is rare among the other Eastern Timbira.

The reverse holds for tattooing, which is very rare among the former, but somewhat more frequent among the Krĩkatí and Pụkóbye. Doubtless borrowed from the Neobrazilians, the decoration as a rule consists merely of a few plain lines or copies of letters on the forearm; it is executed with iron needles and genipa.

Pigments.—The Canella have five pigments: 1, black, from rubber latex with powdered charcoal; 2, red, from urucú seeds; 3, yellow, from the juice of the urucú root; 4, bluish black, from the juice of the genipa fruit; 5, white clay. Of these, the first three are applied both to the body and to objects; the fourth serves only to decorate the body; the fifth, with few exceptions, only for objects.

Red urucú, the most common, at once attracts every visitor's notice by its omni-

[299] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 42.
[300] Krause, In den Wildnissen Brasiliens, 224.
[301] Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:319.
[302] Pohl, Reise, 2:211.
[303] *Ibid.*, 2:191.

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presence. The Indian himself and everything he owns are more or less red with urucú. Whatever they take hold of turns red, as does anyone living among them. The urucú stain on an article is not conceived as dirt, but as an embellishment. Any trace of earth on prepared food is removed by scraping and washing, yet no one dreams of attempting this with the imprint of the cook's ten digits. The Indians grow irritated if civilized people voice disparaging comments about the use of urucú; any person or article reeking with the pigment is a thing of beauty. A collection of ethnographica from any Timbira tribe is marked by the varying red, brownish-red, and yellowish-red tints of urucú. Especially when fresh the pigment emits a strong odor which civilized observers identify as "stench," while it delights the Indian's nostrils no less than the red color pleases his eyes. Naturally the odor is attached to the Timbira himself and all his belongings.

In order to have the pigment constantly available the urucú shrub (pų; *Bixa orellana*) is planted beside or behind the dwelling. The red pigment, forming the thin layer of a moist mass, surrounds the seeds in their capsules. The Indians either gather fresh capsules from the shrub according to need or harvest the mature capsules, removing the seeds for storage in gourd bottles, which are plugged with stoppers. More particularly it is the young girls who always keep such bottles suspended by their beds. Men never own them since they are always painted by the other sex. After a while the pigmented mass dries on the seeds; then it is necessary to prepare the coloring matter with the oily juice of babassu seeds. The urucú seeds are poured into the hollow of the hand, the juice of the chewed babassu seeds is expectorated over them, and the mixture is rubbed between the flat palms. The pigment thus produced is removed with the finger or a little rod, either for immediate use or for storage in a little gourd bowl (pl. 14, m). These small urucú gourds, suspended from the back by a plaited cord, are the badge of the girl associates (p. 96), whose duty it is to paint the members of their festive organization. The pigment remains visible even after several baths.

Another mode of preparation is derived from the Guajajára: after the washing of the seeds the fluid is condensed by boiling; roundish lumps are molded from the soapy mass; and these are wrapped in leaves or cloth. However, the older generation spurn this innovation because the urucú loses its odor in boiling. Chief Kukrāčą' objected in my presence when his niece wanted to paint him with pigment thus prepared and sent her for fresh capsules.

Urucú is not only beautiful, but also useful, being credited with antiseptic (p. 50) and prophylactic virtues. Going to a pool for my morning bath before daybreak on one occasion, I met my hąpínpey, Čątú, who was about to start on a hunting trip. (See p. 100 f.) He was carrying a gourd bowl with a handful of urucú seeds, which he mixed with water; then he drank the red liquid, declaring it would give him luck in the chase. He insisted on my taking a few drafts; eagerly overruling my objection that I had no intention of going after game, he informed me that that made no difference: urucú was good for *any* purpose, it was impossible to use enough of it. Whenever I obtained urucú for my collection, I was generally admonished to employ it extensively.[58]

As a matter of fact, the effect of the red pigment on the Indian's dark skin is very agreeable, but, on a North European it is too showy. The Ponto women, however, had the contrary impression: unable to understand my wish to rid myself of my coat of urucú from time to time by washing it off with soap, they imagined that I wanted to be quickly and more effectively repainted. A man's kinswomen

[58] Nimuendajú, The Social Structure, 52.

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lower end pointed on the sword-club pattern; the upper end, which is sometimes decorated with openwork over a span in length and often very prettily, terminates in comblike tines 4–6 cm. long (pl. 36). A soft sound is produced by moistening the skin on the inside of the upper arm with the tongue and stroking it back and forth with the tines. This sound is the signal by which the pepyé identify themselves on mutual visits at night.

A second object often found in the hands of pepyé, but otherwise only rarely (as a children's toy), is the bull-roarer (pīkwęk) (pl. 35, *e*). After nightfall and before daybreak the class leader should swing the instrument, the alarm being passed on from cell to cell to make sure that its inmate has not fallen asleep, in which case the commandant would punish him. This was the subsequent statement of the commandant who had functioned in 1933, but during that festival the signal was certainly not given with regularity, but at best now and then. As a participant I only occasionally heard the booming sound for a few moments and did not learn its meaning until later. Once I overheard the following dialogue between two pepyé, which the commandant's explanation elucidates: "Did you hear my bull-roarer this noon?" "Yes!" "I thought you were asleep."

That the bull-roarer was part of the insignia peculiar to pepyé is indicated by the term pepyetokárčą in the speech of the Čą'kamekra, nowadays extinct as a separate tribe, whose specimens were considerably larger and of more careful make than their present Rąmkõ'kamekra equivalents. It seems clear that the comparative insignificance of the bull-roarer at initiation does not represent its original role.

A pepyé in retreat carefully extends the lobes of his ears to fit them for the earplugs (kúi) (see pl. 4, *a–c*). From time to time the youths widen this part of the ear, which is developed into a loop of skin, by inserting both their forefingers and then twisting the loop; at intervals of a few days the plugs are superseded by new and somewhat bigger ones.

The deputy daily notched a four-edged stick (amkrópupunčą, day counter) to keep tally of the days elapsed since the capture of the pepyé (pl. 35, *g*).

The pepyé passed the time with various diversions: one of them constructed a ventilator wheel, another carved a model of the type of motorboat plying on the Mearim, still others plaited little baskets, bags or mats of anajá grass, which they used in their subsequent parades and camps.

Sometimes when the village lacked meat, the pepyé furtively marched into the steppe to hunt. On one trip they stole a neighboring farmer's ox; the council by no means sanctioned this procedure, but had the errand boys bring the two chief malefactors to the plaza and gave them a terrific reprimand, so that they stood there quite abashed, notwithstanding the supercilious bearing at first assumed by one of the culprits. At night, before all their fellow novices, the two commandants once more subjected them to prolix harangues and reprimands.

Thus the weeks passed. In the meantime the wakõ'kama, being the youngest of the eastern classes and hence the novices' opponents, gathered daily in the western vụ'tẹ''s house and arranged many log races with the next older põhị'kama class camped on the west side. These latter, using the eastern vụ'tẹ' house as their lodge, belong to the same team league as the pepyé of 1933, whose subsequent position would also be on the west side of the plaza, to the north of their predecessors on that side.

Inspection of new leaders.—About 4:30 P.M. on May 23, the põhị'kama and wakõ'kama classes (western and eastern, respectively) began to dance jointly in the plaza, while the hąpín and pinčwẹ'i of the eastern leader of the pepyé assembled